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bear on the issue of arbitration, I have no hesitation in deducing from it as my own conclusion that if you can ever establish an international tribunal in the nature of a court, and if that international tribunal shall have its doors open at all times, the nations of the earth for the most part will gladly go into it with their international differences. I do not believe in obligatory treaties. I agree with General Foster that it is very doubtful whether those treaties will ever be ratified. I know full well that men in authority will not confer power upon the unknown. There must be something established; they must see it working; they must concur in what it will probably do, and then they will willingly use it as their instrument.

Consequently, so believing, so thinking and, so far as my experience goes, so knowing, I hail the Hague tribunal as the greatest advance in the cause of peace that has ever occurred in this troubled world; and I hail as the greatest step that has been taken, the greatest advance that has been made, the most important thing that has occurred during the last year, the fact that two nations of the earth have gone to the Hague tribunal with their differences. Once let the tide turn in that direction and the current will flow ceaselessly. Mankind is not beligerent; there is in every nation combustible material; but the great, peaceful mass whom President Eliot has well called the "unknown millions," the men who work for their families without ambition, and lay up money to bring their children up decently, — the farmers of this country, the artisans of this country, the well-to-do laborers of this country, — they want no war, they need no converting.

The French War Minister's Plea for Revenge.

BY ALFRED H. FRIED.

From *Die Friedens-Warte*, Berlin.

The French Minister of War, André, at the unveiling of a monument to the memory of the soldiers who fell in the war of 1870-71, uttered some strongly chauvinistic sentiments and made reference to a future war of revenge against Germany. He said among other things: "The soldier for whom this monument is really intended is the soldier of the future, who will restore to France her material greatness. This soldier of the future will be the avenger of France. For this avenger we shall keep our laurels laid up." And further: "Belfort will not need to bear out her glorious flag until the day when the fatherland shall call all her children to arms."

This speech was received in very bad spirit by the German press. It cannot be denied that by such utterances the work of peace, earnestly and laboriously carried on as it is, is very much crippled. "See! see!" our nationalist papers cry out, "see how our wicked neighbor does not cease to threaten us; now you will understand that we cannot cease to increase our armaments and to keep our entire force in readiness to meet the vindictive purposes of the French." As a spring of water to the thirsty soul, so came these sabre-clashing words to the knowledge of our thorough-going Germans, our chauvinists. The whole world was just at the moment full of praise of the blessings of peace, of assurances of

undisturbed harmony, and a rumor was abroad that the sovereigns of Europe were seriously considering the subject of disarmament. What should be done? The rescue came in the form of this speech of the French Minister of War. All the editorials on the subject which appeared in Germany ended with the words: "Our sword must be kept sharp, our powder dry."

These excited persons did not stop to consider that the speech of one war minister does not make a war, that it does not represent the sentiment of an entire people, and that consequently it does not in the least determine whether there shall be war or peace. They likewise failed to remember that out of the mouths of German generals have come similar warlike words. Possibly in their view those were not warlike words, when Count Waldersee, a few years ago, in taking leave of the army corps which was doing garrison duty in the lands of the empire, said that he was sorry not to have had the opportunity to lead the corps against the enemy; or, when he, only recently, at a manœuvre declared that the cavalry had great tasks before them in the future war. But what is said at home is only a matter of course in the view of our pseudo-patriots. When such things are spoken in neighboring countries, why then only do they become villainous.

How irrational it is, anyway, to suppose that a professional soldier (or for that matter, a war minister) can think of aught else than the time when he shall be permitted to lead the army against the enemy and to win laurels of war. This thought must indeed fill his entire being, for the readiness of the army to fight implies that every soldier believes in the possibility of war, and in the certainty of victory. One may well raise the question whether it is logical for this thought to prevail in all lands, for in the nature of things not all those who go to war with one another can be victorious; some of them will be defeated, and these will be disappointed in their assurance of victory. But aside from this, the possibility of war and assurance of victory cannot be separated from the system of armaments; they belong to the moral outfit of militarism, and their presence in the system does not disturb the circle of the friends of peace any more than armor-clad ships and regiments disturb them.

But there is one trouble in the matter: the soldier must, as a matter of course, cherish these thoughts, but woe to him if he clothes his thoughts in words. He must be silent; he dare not speak of them. If he does so, if his mouth lets out that of which his heart is full, it is set down as diabolical by neighboring peoples who also keep their soldiers full of thoughts of the possibility of war and of the assurance of victory. How stupid the whole thing is!

We friends of peace need not be much troubled over the General's prophecy of revenge. We know that the peace of Europe is anchored upon other and firmer ground than the opinions of professional militarists. We know that peace — the necessity of peace — is conditioned by our entire industrial and social relations, and cannot be disturbed by any amount of verbal rattling of sabres. We regret, of course, that the delusion about armaments is continually strengthened by such words, and the time put further off when Europe can at last think seriously of consecrating to the real ends of civilization the billions which are now squandered.

In order to try to counteract the bad impression which the speech of General André made in Germany, I asked the well-known French Deputy, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, to give his opinion of this speech of his fellow-countryman. Baron d'Estournelles acceded to my request and sent me the following statement of his opinion, which I was able to get published in a prominent position in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. But, strange to say, while all the papers, without distinction of party affiliation, seized upon the speech of André and bitterly criticised it, some of them going so far as to declare it very significant that the speech was nowhere disavowed in French circles, not a single German paper was found which noted the declarations of Baron d'Estournelles and laid them before its readers with a view of allaying their feelings.

Baron d'Estournelles expressed himself as follows:

"One cannot at all wonder that General André, standing before a monument dedicated to the memory of 1870-71, declared that we must always mourn over our defeat, and that we ought to forget neither our lost provinces nor those Frenchmen who fell in their defense. I myself, to whom our nationalists are continually throwing it up that I feel no hatred toward Germany, having often used the same language; and were I to speak differently, I should have no claim upon the esteem of my fellow-countrymen nor upon that of Germany either. I despise war and shall do all in my power to prevent it just because I feel so painfully what it has cost us; and I am utterly averse to the idea of a new war, even though it were a victorious one, because history teaches us that war is no settlement, but gives rise always to new wars.

"To be sure, if the newspaper reports be true, General André said something more. He spoke of a future time when our defeat would be avenged by our army. This language seems to me quite natural in the mouth of a war minister. Every day and in all lands one hears the leaders of armies arousing enthusiasm among their troops by setting before them victory as their reward and as the only purpose of their efforts. This takes place every day in Berlin, in St. Petersburg, in Paris, in London, in Rome, in Vienna, and in all the capitals as far as Sofia. The tax-payers, too, are willing to pay the increasingly burdensome taxes only that the constantly growing armies may be kept up in their inactivity, and at the same time of course they must ever renew the armaments which are continually growing antiquated.

"While Europe is thus squandering her wealth of men and of money, her competitors in America are for this reason in the best possible position to develop the sources of their wealth so as to give them industrial supremacy, because they can sell their products, which are less burdened with taxes, cheaper than those of Europe can be sold.

"And this will continue to be the case, whatever all the war ministers of the different lands may say, until Europe comes to see the folly and the impracticability of the policy of armed peace and substitutes a policy of European union for the present one.

"But Europe will little by little comprehend this, when the prices of agricultural and industrial products fall so low as to be no longer remunerative, when strikes, industrial crises and social revolts have become chronic and continually more threatening conditions. Then will

every government, in the interests of self-preservation, begin to understand that something must be done, and that this something must be first a cessation of the growth of armaments and then a reduction of them.

"Then will a great number of lines of service which are at present national, as the post, the railway, the steamship, tariffs, measures of health, the protection of artistic, literary and industrial property, become international, and be placed at the same time under the direction of an appropriate juridic system.

"These great changes which have been dreamed of by peacemakers, sociologists and philosophers, as by all men of intelligence and goodwill, would be long enough in being realized even if in every land the rulers, ministers and generals did not hold reviews and each of them in turn prophesy and celebrate victory in the future.

"The more they speak, the more will they seek to show the necessity of increasing the military outlays, and the more will they, without intending it, go beyond the possible limits of the burdens which can be borne by the people. And since nobody in any army holds that war will be a relief, they will be obliged at last to decide either to accept bankruptcy or to organize peace.

"Taking all things into consideration, these warlike speeches, in the present peaceful condition of Europe, doubtless do more good than harm in the long run. They prove to people more conclusively than all other arguments that the armaments and the attendant expenses will necessarily be increased, and make ever more manifest the general necessity of a peace based upon the interests and the honor of all."

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